

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 44.—No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 21, 1822. [Price 6d.

Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o' Clock.

MR. CANNING AT SCHOOL.

LETTER V.

On the New Edition of Cobbett's English Grammar, and on the State of the Nation with regard to Information and Learning.

Worth, Sussex, 18 Dec. 1822.

SIR,

I do not mean, by the above title, to insinuate, that *you* stand in need of being taken to *Grammar-School* by me; for I have always said that you formed an exception to the tribe in general. When I first introduced my little Grammar to the public, I represented the total ignorance of the English language that prevailed amongst placemen and Members of Parliament. I said that they were the worst writers in the nation or in the world; but I made an exception with respect to *you* and the little man that was the

Speaker of the House of Commons some years ago, and who has changed his name of Abbot for that of Colchester. I speak of the little Grammar here because it will lead me into higher matter; matter that you ought to be well acquainted with, and of which I believe you to be totally ignorant. You were bred up in a series of schools. Out of the schools you came in amongst a parcel of school-boys whom you found at Whitehall and at Westminster. The conversation of these big school-boys is all that you have ever heard. You have not had the advantages common to parsons, shooters and fox-hunters. Therefore, with a mind capable of understanding every thing, you understand, perhaps, as little of the state of the country, with regard to the information and the real learning possessed by the people, as it is possible for man to understand.

Living amongst the aristocracy and the parsons, and amongst impertinent wretches who call them-

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selves literary men, you have never heard the *millions* described as any thing but creatures naturally of a low cast, and wholly unfit to be taught any thing beyond mere manual operations. I do not say that you yourself have had a contemptuous feeling towards them; that you have looked upon them as a second sort of brute creation; but, it is very certain that you have never supposed them to be possessed of any information or learning to be at all compared with what is possessed by the lowest of the animals that creep about a college.

Never was a greater error than this, and few errors have led to more dangerous consequences. Those who are now the nerve of the nation; that is to say, those who are from fifteen to thirty-five years of age, have had an education, very different indeed from that which their fathers had, and very different from what you must suppose them to have had. It is now pretty nearly thirty years since Mr. Paine awakened, in the common people of this country, the spirit of enquiry. They were captivated, not less by his powerful manner, than by the novelty and the deep interest of the subjects on which he wrote. His writings were favourites with them,

and will remain such as long as letters are known. The reviling of him by dunderheaded George Chalmers and the like; the calling of him a stay-maker, and representing him a person of the lowest and most beggarly origin, answered no other purpose than that of making them begin to despise those that deem themselves of high rank and high birth; seeing that it soon became not only notorious, but confessed, that none of these could write so powerfully as the stay-maker. He committed one great error, and that was, to attack that with which he had really no business, and that to which the far greater part of the people were most sincerely and laudably attached. Had it not been for this error on his part, his foes, powerful as they were; armed as they were with physical force of all descriptions; full of terror as was their power, never would they have produced even a slackening of that admiration in which he was held. But, after all, what could a true history tell with regard to Mr. Paine and his writings? Why, this; that there he was, a stay-maker, since you will have it so; there was the stay-maker, single handed, pitted against all the pens that the Lords, the Church, Whitehall, St. Stephen's, and that all

the hired hands of reviewers, magazine writers, and newspaper writers could put in motion. Societies were organized; the Universities divided themselves into squadrons; every thing, whether by individual exertion or by combination, that could be done, was done, to oppose him through the means afforded by *the press*. All was in vain. The Attorney-General; the *law*, that last resort of a defeated disputant, was called in to *answer* him. Nay, Burke, whom he had defeated, had the baseness to call, even in Parliament, upon the Attorney-General to reply to Paine by an information ex-officio. However, even this was not sufficient in the case of Mr. Paine, to whom was reserved the honour of having, for his opponent, *the King in person*, who, by *express proclamation*, called upon persons in authority to put down the "Rights of Man." This was the first time that ever a pamphlet had been answered by a proclamation.

It was, however, too late. The stay-maker had spread his light abroad. The eyes had been opened, and it was impossible to close them again. During the war, men were compelled *by force* to hold their tongues. There was, indeed, nobody actually to knock

them down with clubs or run them through the body to make them keep silence; but the danger was so great from one cause or another, that discussion proceeded by a sort of stealth. Yet it was not idle. The two or three hundred thousand copies of the "Rights of Man" had planted a disciple in every district; and he never failed to make others; so that the light never was extinguished in spite of all the noise, all the violence, all the dust and smoke of the war.—Just about the time that there needed something to take to school the young men who succeeded those that had been taught by Mr. Paine, the Register made its appearance; and in a short time it entered upon that series of teachings, the fair fruits of which are now beginning to be visible. The great subject of the Register always was, the Paper-Money. I knew nothing of this matter in the year 1802, any more, and perhaps not quite so much as you or the old Doctor know of it now. I did not know what had made the Bank of England. I did not know what the slang term of Consols meant. I did not know what Dividend, Omnium, Scrip, or any of the rest of it, imported. Finding it necessary to understand something

about the matter, and about taxation, and other things relating thereto; I read, by the advice of that excellent man, Dr. Lawrence, the work of that old Scotch tax-gatherer, Adam Smith. I could make neither top nor tail of the thing. After a great hunting about in search of books to give me information, I set to work to read the Act of Parliament by which the Bank of England was created, and all the Acts about loans and funds and dividends and payings-off and sinking-funds; and disgusting as this would have been to almost any other man upon the face of the earth, to me it was pleasant; for I soon got something of an insight; and I soon began to perceive that the *fate of the kingdom* must finally turn upon what should be done with regard to the accursed thing called the National Debt. I saw the purpose for which it had been founded; I saw how completely it had answered that purpose; I saw how it had been the instrument of putting unbounded power into the hands of the Government; I saw how it had drawn the wealth of the country into masses, how it had destroyed the lower and middle class of farmers, how it had added to the list of paupers, how it had beggared and degraded

my country. I saw, but not without the assistance of Mr. Paine (*Essay on the Decline and Fall*), how the Bank came to be restrained in 1797; and if I felt indignant at the hypocrisy, the baseness, the insolence, proceeding from the temporary success of that disgraceful and abominable invention, I felt cheered by the *certainty* that I should live to see the day when that scheme of matchless turpitude would become the subject of universal reprobation. I soon arrived at a conviction of this truth; that, the nation must destroy that monster the Debt: or that the monster must destroy this form of Government.

This was in the year 1804, or rather, in the latter part of 1803. From this time a new era commenced in the political education of the people of England. I attacked a thing which Mr. Paine had but slightly touched on, for, before his "*Decline and Fall*" came out, his writings had been suppressed by brute force; and when that came out, he had, unfortunately, rendered himself unpopular amongst the very best part of the people, by his gratuitous and rude assault on the Christian religion. My manner of attack on the accursed system

of funding had its charms in its boldness and originality. My style was such as to please all those who read with a desire of acquiring knowledge. I always *reasoned*, and yet in a sort of way, that seldom created weariness in the reader. At once, a certain number, and not a small number of persons, adopted my opinions; and, in spite of every thing that friends or foes have been able to say or to do, I have never yet heard of one man, who adopted those opinions, and who afterwards relinquished them.

A subject of such very great importance, and embracing so many large branches, is not easily described in a few words; and the people, I mean mankind in general, do not in such cases stop to split straws. If you go about to define to them, they stop you short, by saying, or seeming to say: "tell us what it is in a few words." This subject, then, in few words, was this: the whole thing relating to national debts and funds and paper-money. I said that this thing would finally produce the ruin of the country: my opponents said that the thing was a blessing and that I was a mischievous fool. Thus we were at issue. The nation was to decide between us. My opponents

had all the power in their hands; the power of abusing and calumniating, and also the power of draining the purse and pinching the body. Other matters of dispute between them and me have, at different times, come upon the tapis. But those matters were transitory: the subject of the debt, funds and paper-money has been permanent.

Now, out of this arose that new sort of education; that new turn in the minds of men, of which I have before spoken, of which I believe you to be totally ignorant, and with regard to which, nevertheless, it becomes you to be perfectly well informed. In spite of all opposition; in spite of more than three hundred newspapers, magazines and reviews, all, not only circulating doctrines the opposite of mine, but calumniating me at the same time; telling of me lies the most enormous, and, what is more, causing those lies to be believed by ninety-nine hundredths of the people; in spite of the basest treachery, the foulest of conspiracies, on the part of those to whom I had always behaved with boundless frankness and with a prodigality of generosity almost criminal; in spite of all this, the writings kept *on their way!* They had fastened upon

the mind, and it was impossible to shake them off.

It was impossible for me not to entertain a desire to inflict punishment of some sort or other upon foes so unjust and so malignant. Yet, they were so numerous, they were so powerful; it was so clearly useless to engage in direct combat, that I was compelled to betake me to that patience, which you so strongly recommend to the landlords and farmers, and to wait for the slow but sure triumph of truth. In the mean time, however, while we were advancing, though so slowly towards this point, and while the fatal effects of that system, for the reprobating of which I had so severely suffered, and was still suffering; while these effects were, from time to time, making their appearance, it was natural, it was just, it was a duty in me to point out that these effects proceeded from acts of those belonging to those orders whose subaltern villains had so calumniated me, and who, themselves, had treated me with every species of harshness and disdain. It was a thing to remark on (when events were proving me to have been right) that the pretenders to superior birth and education had been unable to discover that which I had

so long before discovered. It was a thing to remark, that all the colleges and schools and universities, who had shown themselves not a match for the stay-maker, were also not a match for the serjeant-major, or, as the subaltern villains called him, the corporal. Not a little proud were my numerous readers to perceive that one who had sprung out of the same class with themselves was the literary master, and the political master, too, of all those who had looked down upon them with so much contempt. The very distresses which we now behold, and which must end in some great change or some great convulsion, have their rise in the insolence of pride. Eight years ago, the mischief might have been completely stopped; and, what is more, it *must* have been stopped, if those, a considerable part of whose care was to suppress my writings, had only read those writings. They would not *read* them. They carried their stupid pride to such a length that, at one time, some of them *pretended not to know that I was still writing*. Look at all the efforts that have been made to prevent the circulation of these writings. Ought not the nation to blush for this series of violences and meannesses?

During all this time the *people* were reading ; and especially the *labouring classes*. So that, as I told Mr. Tierney in my memorable letter to him, England presents to the world this singular spectacle. The Government, the Parliament, the rich, the pretended learned, ignorant of the causes which are shaking society to its base, while a considerable part of the middle class and a large part of the very poorest class of all, understand those causes perfectly well. The pride, and, indeed, the injustice, of the higher, not only would not suffer them to learn, but induced them to persecute the teacher ; while the other classes, delighted with their progress in knowledge, and, feeling satisfaction at the humbling of those who had so long had exclusive pretensions to that knowledge, felt gratitude towards their teacher. And, perhaps there never was a man in this world that had so many bitter enemies and so many ardent friends as myself.

From one thing we proceed to another. In almost all our enterprises we get on, step by step. The common people, under which denomination I include all but the nobles, the parsons and the University people, were already far *more learned* than the classes just

mentioned. There wanted but very little to enable them to put their thoughts correctly upon paper. It was necessary to show them how to do this ; and it was necessary to insist that all the pretended superiority, founded on University educations, was false and unworthy of respect. Thoughts of this sort gave rise to that little Grammar which has already made thousands of young men in the middle and lowest class of life, greatly superior in point of learning to the far greater part of those who come forth at the age of thirty, to insult society with the stupid tales of their colleges and schools. One main thing to insist upon, was, that those great secrets, the Greek and Latin languages were of *no use* ; that they had not the smallest tendency to communicate knowledge ; that they had not the smallest tendency to enlarge the mind ; that they had not the smallest tendency to enable men to write English correctly ; that they were of no sort of use except to impose upon the people in general, and to appropriate to a certain class of individuals, the enjoyment of large masses of public property, which might be otherwise much better employed. It is worth observation, that RESTAUR, in his

preface to his French Grammar, says, that you often find scholars from the University ignorant of all the principles of French grammar, and that you often find them violating even the rules of orthography ; and, that, if they speak or write correctly, it is, perhaps, more from accident and habit than from any thing else. This was my opinion, entertained long before I saw the work of M. Restant ; and, Sir, to you, who are a good judge in this case, I appeal whether the pretending that a knowledge of those languages is conducive to the knowledge of the English language is not one of the grossest frauds that ever was practised upon mankind.

Upon this opinion I proceeded when I wrote my little Grammar ; and little as that book is, Sir ; and, though the *sage*, the *learned*, the *impartial* old vagabond hirelings that write reviews, have never so much as mentioned, that such a book has appeared in print, upwards of *fifty thousand copies*, including the editions of both countries, of that little book have been *sold* ! There were two objects to accomplish by this book. The first was, to show the young men of the country how they might easily excel their pretended superiors in learning, even in the very

inferior endowment of putting their thoughts correctly upon paper. To *possess the knowledge*, either naturally or by acquisition ; to possess the knowledge is the thing most worthy of esteem and admiration. To know how to communicate it to others is, indeed, a sort of learning ; but greatly inferior to the other. Nevertheless, it is necessary ; and it is necessary especially, in order to enable the possessor of knowledge to take his proper place, and to put the false pretenders under his feet. If I could enable a hundred young men in every county in England, to write better ; to write more correctly, than any hundred lords, parsons or university-men in each county, I was doing a great thing. They have all the Schools, all the Colleges, all the Universities, all the rich endowments in their hands ; but if I could make a hundred young men in each county write better than any hundred of them in the same county, I was providing the best possible security for the final triumph of sound knowledge and of justice.

This was the first object. The next was, to show them that the University education had done nothing, and could do nothing, even in qualifying men for the

very humble business of putting their thoughts upon paper. For this purpose, I drew forth a couple of the giants of literature, a couple of the Doctors of the Universities. In this **NEW EDITION**, which I intend shall salute the New Year, I have brought forth the Great Statesmen of our age. I have added to the grammar, **SIX LESSONS** as a warning to statesmen against using false grammar and bad writing. The subjects I have selected are, 1st. The Speaker's celebrated speech to the Prince Regent, containing the lofty encomiums on Peel's Bill, and on the wisdom of the House of Commons in passing it. 2nd. The Prince's Answer to this celebrated speech. 3d. Lord Castlereagh's Note to the foreign Ministers, on the subject of the Museums at Paris. 4th. The Duke of Wellington's Despatch upon the same subject. 5th. Lord Castlereagh's Note on the French Slave-Trade. 6th. Lord Wellesley's Despatch on the State of Ireland, and the Bishop of Winchester's first Charge to his Clergy. These lessons are sufficient to be a warning to any man that takes pen in hand. All these persons have been at the University. All famous, I dare say, for their knowledge in Latin and Greek ;

yet, that they write most miserably bad English will be evident to every one that shall read these lessons, which, I will venture to say, will conduce more to writing correctly in this country than ever did all the teachings of all the **Doctors**, all the **Proctors**, all the **Professors**, all the **Masters** and all the rest of the endless train of persons that lead such comfortable lives within the walls of the Universities and big schools, not excepting that school, of which you, Sir, were the captain.

And, is this to be called *ill-natured* on my part? What, have I not a right to show that men taught in these places are not our superiors in learning? Am I tacitly to acknowledge the supereminence of teachings in the Universities? Am I, like the clown that as yet knows nothing beyond the turning of the furrow, to shrink back at the sight of a black gown and a trencher upon the head with tassels hanging from its corners? What, am I, who see the nation brought into its present state, while under the absolute sway of scholars from the Universities; am I to sneak about, hold my tongue, turn up my eyes and seem to think that it is a visitation of divine Providence? Observe, too, that there is something in the way

of retributive justice here. I have before observed on the calumnies of the base underlings of corruption. I have here to observe on their *silence*. Has it ever happened, before, to any book, to circulate to the amount of even a tenth part of the circulation of the little Grammar? has it ever happened to any such book to pass wholly unnoticed by reviewers? Unable to attack, their other mode was, to keep silence; to do nothing to cause the existence of the thing to be known. To be sure, I did not resort to the mode recommended by Peter Pindar; namely, to treat them to "buckets of broth and pounds of bullock's liver:" but they would not have taken my bribe, being already retained at a higher price. It is impossible for them to pretend that the work was *beneath* their notice; because its circulation was and is so great. They could not pretend that the author was *beneath* their notice; for the base old hacks not long ago actually published; aye, published in a book called "*a review*," *what they called a list of my private debts!* This formed a fit subject for one of their infamous books. They thought it their duty, they said, to communicate that list to the public; but they do not think

it their duty to notice a book, containing matter which must be more beneficial, or more injurious to the minds of the youth of this nation, than any book that ever yet came from the press. They and their vile employers must be strangely puzzled what to do in such a case. In short, both together have nothing to do but to repent of the past and act justly for the future. It remains to be seen whether they will do this, or whether they will stand out, a mark of scorn, when all the rest of the nation shall think and act rightly. In the mean time, it is for you to consider, Sir, whether it be *prudent* to push on further the schemes of *aristocratical distinction*, at a moment when information and learning are so extensively spread amongst the people. Wherever I go, I find the people, and the *young men* in particular, full of knowledge of public matters, full of useful science, and full of that confidence which their learning gives them a right to entertain. You may think it vain in me to say it, if you please; but it is a truth, and I choose to say it, that I have met with scores of young men, to come and take me by the hand, and to tell me how much I have taught them and how much they are indebted to me. A

little anecdote of a circumstance that happened to me at Reading, is very well worthy of your serious reflection. After the dinner at that place, I went into the stable to look at my horses. While I was there, there came a young man, with an apron on, appearing to be a carpenter or bricklayer. Evidently a journeyman of some trade. His business was, to tell me, in the first place, that he and five others took the Register weekly. He then proceeded to say, that he was commissioned by the other five to request me to give them an explanation of *the way in which the gold found its way from the continent to supply the place of the paper, drawn in?* Lest I should not have time, or he should not explain himself fully in so noisy a situation, he brought a paper with him, on which the question was put in writing; and that, too, in as neat and correct a manner as it is possible to imagine. How I received such a person, it is not, I trust, necessary for me to say; but I will say, that the pleasure I experienced upon this occasion has seldom been exceeded by any thing ever felt by me in the whole course of my life.

You, Sir, have too much sense to suppose it possible that these

six men were the only six of that description in the whole kingdom. They might happen to be rather better informed than the general mass; but it would be to set reason at defiance to suppose that they were any thing more than a rather favourable sample of the whole body or mass to which they belong. Is it, then, to be presumed, Sir, that such men ought not to be intrusted with the choosing of those who are to make laws to affect their lives? Happy would it be for the landlords, if they had possessed the knowledge that this class possess! Yea, this class that has been called a low, degraded crew, and to put a stop to whose encroachments it was said the House must make a stand. Is it prudent, let me again ask you, at such a time, and with the common people thus informed, is it prudent to push things to an extremity with regard to aristocratical distinctions? Is it prudent to adopt regulations in the army, in the navy; is it prudent to have academies for the forming of officers, instead of letting the thing be as it formerly was? Above all things, is it prudent to repel the people; to drive them back, and to tell them that they shall have nothing to do in the

choosing of those who are to make laws that must affect them in every act of their lives; and that, too, while they are liable to be called forth to venture those lives in the defence of the country?

Besides, that justice demands that the common people should have a voice in choosing those who make the laws, is it not manifest, that the Government itself would derive the greatest possible benefit from such a change? If you, for instance, were ever so desirous of selecting persons to employ, *could you select them?* How prodigiously would the number be augmented, out of which the selection was to be made, if you were let loose from those trammels which now cramp you? It is a positive injury to a country that there should be any thing like bounds to this power of selection. A country, to have her fair chance of safety and of greatness, must have the talents and the virtues of *all* her sons at her command. Has this country such command? You know well that she has not; and you know well that she never can as long as a fragment of the present system of exclusion shall be left. Now, as upon all other occasions, I come to the conclusion that we have no hope; that

the country must be totally ruined unless we have a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

UNPARALLELED WICKEDNESS.

IN the *Statesman* of Monday last, having to extract Mr. Thomas Attwood's very able Letter from the *Farmers' Journal*, we took occasion to observe, that we saw with pleasure, that the Journal appeared disposed not only to repent of its past enormous and long continued sins; but that, by the aid of Mr. Attwood, it was really endeavouring to make some *atonement*. It has always been our fault to be too ready *to praise* and *to forgive*. We took for a return to the path of virtue, that which appears to have been a mere stumbling in the commission of sin; for, we have now the mortification to find that this reprobate newspaper; this ruiner of the farmers; this vehicle of the quackeries of Webb Hall; this breaker-up of families; this diabolical, this

hardened journal, was, on the very day, too, that we were exulting in its apparent redemption, committing *new sins*, barbing new arrows of malice; and even letting them fly at ourselves.—Nevertheless, enormous as is the sin, and reprobate as is the sinner, we should have suffered the matter to pass, if the articles to which we allude did not contain that which affords matter for comment that may be of great public utility.—Mr. Attwood sends to be inserted in the Farmers' Journal of Monday last, a *Postscript* to that Letter which we have before mentioned, and which we inserted on Monday from the Farmers' Journal of the Monday before. In this *Postscript* Mr. Attwood notices two things; *first*, his omission to state one of the causes of the depreciation of the currency *previous* to 1797; and, second, his not having made an exception with regard to Mr. Cobbett, when he was bestowing a general *censure on the press*.—We shall speak of these two points; and in doing this, our readers will perceive the proofs of which we have just spoken of the reprobate character of the Farmers' Journal.

As to the *first*; the causes of depreciation before ninety-seven. Mr. Attwood mentions a Mr.

ROOKE, who, it appears, has written upon the subject of the currency; and tells us that one of the causes of the depreciation of the currency, previous to 1797, was *the issue of assignats in France, by the revolutionary government*, which necessarily threw a part of the French gold and silver money into England.—This is very true; and, if Mr. Attwood had done me the honour to read the Rustic Harangue at Huntingdon, about this time twelvemonth, he would have found that I there particularly dwelt upon this circumstance. Lord Fitzwilliam had, just before the time when that harangue was made, made a reduction of forty-five per cent. in his rents, bringing them down to the standard of 1792, because, said his Lordship, the prices are now what they were in the year 1792. In giving my reasons why the prices of 1792 would not be the prices after Mr. Peel's Bill went into full effect, I stated that France had now *got her own money back again*; and that therefore, we could not expect so large a portion of currency to be afloat in England as was afloat in it in 1792. However, as I have never read the publication of Mr. ROOKE, and as it was, probably, written before the Rustic Harangue at Huntingdon was

uttered, I claim no particular merit on this score, and have only to add, that I am happy to perceive that others entertain upon this subject the same opinions with myself.

As to the *second* point; Mr. ATTWOOD's exception with regard to me, when he was levelling a general censure upon the press; the readers of this paper have seen that *I did not omit to notice it in the article published on Monday*. I am very glad to see that he has acknowledged the omission before he could possibly know that it had been noticed by me. He will, too, I think, when he has read the Statesman of last Monday, perceive that he has committed a very great mistake with regard to the press in general. The press has, God knows, sins enough to answer for; but as to this matter, the sin has been that of ignorance, and not that of mercenary motive; for, Mr. ATTWOOD may be very well assured, that the press has been a very great loser by Mr. PEEL's Bill. Agricultural distress is very great; but we could convince Mr. ATTWOOD, by giving him an anecdote or two, respecting the affairs of some of our contemporaries, and some of them, too, that have carried the highest heads, that news-

paper distress yields to distress of no other description in the kingdom. However, this is beside our subject. Mr. ATTWOOD, upon reading over his letter in print, perceived that he had forgotten to make the above mentioned exception with regard to Mr. COBBETT; and, thereupon, he sends to the Farmers' Journal, in which his letter first appeared, the following sentence. "Of course, I except Mr. COBBETT from a general censure upon the public press. His labours on behalf of the country, upon this great question, have been indefatigable and invaluable." — Now, this was not *outrageous* in the way of praise. It was but bare justice; though it was quite enough. It was, indeed, a great deal too much for this sinner of the Farmers' Journal; this wretched deluder and ruiner of the farmers; and, therefore, he tacks on to the bottom of it the following string of vituperations and falsehoods.

"If there were not other, and we hope honourable exceptions to the censure here cast, *Mr. Attwood's numerous letters*, and the above postscript, would hardly have got into print, except as pamphlets. We may particularly mention the sedulous and anxious exertions of the *Rev. Mr. Crutwell*, although we did not think his plan well digested; and we beg, with all humility, to refer to *our own conduct*, who, whether wisely or not,

have never omitted any proper opportunity of bearing our full testimony to the destruction involved in the progress of the currency system. If Mr. A. will be so good as to turn back to the leading articles in our Journal in the latter part of the year 1817, he will find that we were then busied in proposing (perhaps by extraordinary means) the *liquidation of that debt* which, as prices had sunk, and poverty had encroached upon us, must otherwise overwhelm all prosperity. For the merit of Mr. Cobbett—he catches at all the passing subjects of the hour, and in the *furor* of his clamour, *calls them all his own*: it probably will not be a week before he will swear that all which has been said on *tithes*, has been begun and enforced solely by his unmatched pen. For the compliment paid him, Mr. A. runs great danger, in our opinion, of being *abused*: for it is one of Cobbett's peculiar whimsies, that if any man coincide with him in opinion, *he will turn round and contradict it*. One thing we would put to Mr. Attwood, by which he may try the worth and meaning of Mr. Cobbett's exertions; that is,—When it is fully proved and confessed that the Cash-Payments Bill has ruined us, not solely, but *doubly* at least, will Mr. Cobbett *propose a mode of remedy*, or will he *agree with Mr. Attwood*, or any other, *in a medium of currency to be proposed, or a standard of value to be adopted*? No, not he. Mr. Cobbett insists that the cash-payments system is our *total and certain ruin*—and he declares that it *cannot be rescinded*; that the ministers neither *will, nor can, nor dare*, repeal it. Such is the species of his *exultation*, and such the *Satanic pride* and joy of Mr. Cobbett.”—EDITOR.

You might have spared yourself the trouble of writing “*Editor*” at the bottom of this; for no man in the world; none of all the beasts that went into Noah's ark,

not one of all the reptiles; nothing that God ever made or suffered to exist, except the Editor, the miserable quack of quacks; the underling, the *Whackum* of that Sydrophel, Webb Hall, could have put such a paragraph on paper.—In the first place, as to the publication of Mr. Attwood's letters, what newspaper in England would be so beastly as not to see its own *interest* in publishing them?—

As to the Reverend Mr. Cruttwell, how does Mr. Attwood include him in his censure on the *press*? And as to thy “*own conduct*,” thou worse than the ass of La Mancha! what has thy conduct been but that which might have been expected from an impostor whose very business it was to delude the farmers on to their ruin, and to prevent them from making any one exertion tending to save themselves? You talked of the *liquidation* of the Debt, did you? You talked of *paying off*, did you: of paying off that, to pay the *interest* of which has been found sufficiently ruinous? How was any thing to be paid off, without taking the estates from the landlords and the capital from the farmers? You talked about this; and this was your merit! Tell me, wretched sinner, had you ever the courage to propose a reduc-

tion of the interest? Had you ever the courage to propose a disbanding of the army; had you ever the sense or the courage to propose any one thing by which any real relief could be obtained? —Now as to your charges against me; but, before I come to them, let me look back at your baseness with regard to the cultivation of the Swedish turnip. In answer to a correspondent who asked you if you knew of any one who had tried Mr. Cobbett's plan of cultivating the Swedish turnip, which plan your correspondent had read in the *Year's Residence*, you said, "We know something of America" and of Cobbett too, and have not "much faith in either," or words to that effect. What ground had you to justify this observation; I have been informed that you, impudent quack as you are, have said, that *you knew me* in America; and *I know the King*; but never did His Majesty speak to me, and I never spoke to you in the whole course of my life; so that you are impostor all through. But now, you say, that *I catch at all the passing subjects* of the hour, and *call them all my own*. Your falsehood can receive no addition from any exaggeration in the terms; but this is a falsehood so directly opposite to the notorious truth,

that it seems to be peculiarly your own. So far from claiming what belongs to others, I am always most scrupulous in *disclaiming* every merit ascribed to me which does not belong to me; and, when you came to see the *Statesman* of last Monday, where, in observing upon Mr. ATTWOOD's compliment to myself, I took such pains to show that it was *not due to me* but to *Mr. Paine*; when you came to see that paper, you would have blushed, if blush could have penetrated though your hide. —But, now we come to your *caution* to Mr. Attwood. You tell him to take care that I do not turn round on him and contradict him, merely because he coincides in my own opinion! You then propose a *test*, by which to try the merits of my exertions. This test is, or, rather, the tests are, *will I propose a remedy*. Beast! I have proposed the remedy; distinctly proposed it in a Petition to the House of Commons. I did it in 1818, in order to guard the Parliament against such a measure as that of Mr. Peel; against adopting such a measure *without concomitant measures*. Have I not proposed it also; or, at least, the great leading measure of a remedy, in the proposition which was proposed to and adopted by,

the *County of Kent*?—The other test is, will I “agree with Mr. Attwood, or any other, in a *medium of currency* to be proposed, or in a *standard of value* to be adopted?” “No,” say you; and no say I. But what does this prove? Only that I do not agree with Mr. Attwood; that is to say, that Mr. Attwood does not agree with me. I will agree to no new swindle. I will agree to no robbery of yearly servants; no robbery of tradesmen, no robbery of Savings’ Banks people and Friendly Societies, no robbery of people that have recently lent their money. No base hypocritical scheme of fraud by which a new and numerous class of persons are to be ruined; no vile, no atrocious *assignat-project*, which must inevitably throw every thing into confusion, and disgrace the character of the nation for ever.—I propose, I have repeatedly proposed, that *contracts should be rectified, private as well as public*; that justice shall be done to every man; that *public property* shall be applied to purposes of liquidation as far as is consistent with the safety and dignity of the throne; that where *wrong* has been done, *right* shall come and take its place; that, *sacrifices* being absolutely necessary, they

shall be made *by all* and not by a part; that our difficulties shall be looked in the face and *grappled with*; and, lastly, that my *life* shall be taken from me if any part of my proposition shall be found *impracticable*.—This has been the nature of my proposals; and because I will not give them up in exchange for a *swindling assignat-project*; because I will not give up a proposition, which to execute requires zeal, resolution, and every public virtue; because I will not give up that and condescend to become a low, cunning, and *tame cheater*, you accuse me of *exulting in the miseries of my country*! Indeed I do say that the cash-measures have been the immediate cause of the ruin: I do say that the Bill cannot be rescinded; that the Ministers neither *will* nor *can* nor *dare* repeal it: I do say all this; but do I say nothing else? Do I say that the Ministers *can do nothing but repeal this Bill*? I say they *can*; for I say they can reform the Parliament and reduce the interest of the debt, reduce the army to next to nothing, reduce the salaries and grants, rectify contracts; and do every other thing necessary to the restoration of the nation’s happiness. And what do *you* do, thou foulest

of all the reptiles from the ark of Noah? Why, in the very paper from which I quote the above, you say that they cannot reform the Parliament *in time* to afford the landed interest *relief*. If they cannot do that in time, they can do *nothing* in time. That they may do in the course of a *month*, if they will; and of this your deluded readers may be well assured, that, until a reform take place, no relief will be given to them.—Not do it *in time*! Why, the Parliament can work pretty *fast*, when it likes. It did not take many days; only about *four*; to pass a Bill to authorize *Sidmouth* and *Castlereagh*, or either of them, to shut any of us up in any jail in the kingdom, and to keep us there as long as they pleased, without letting us know who were our accusers or what we had done to merit being laid by the heels. It took only *four days* to do this; and *Sidmouth* stated, as an argument in support of the measure, that publications were abroad, in which he was sorry to say the *law-officers could find nothing to prosecute, with a chance of success!*—Again, only last winter, the Parliament actually took but *eight-and-forty hours* to bring in and to pass a law, which shut the Irish people, in whole districts, *up in their houses from sunset to sunrise, on pain of transportation for fifteen minutes' absence!* And that authorized the *transporting* of people, *without trial by jury!*—What! Can the Parliament *work so hard* as this, at times, and must it be *for half an age* in passing a law *for reform!* Why, altogether, there are more than *a thousand* law-makers. And could not the whole thousand pass a law in the space of *a week?* What an *insolent* tone to take! Here, we point out *a remedy*; and the men who oppose us begin by setting it down as *taken for granted*, that *our remedy cannot be adopted*; and then abuse us, and call us *perverse*, because we will not join in their abominable swindle, which is, besides, calculated either to produce confusion, or to rivet our chains for ever!—A reform *might* be made, and the whole matter *justly* settled in *one month* from the time of the meeting of Parliament. If this be not done, let the consequences fall (and they will fall) on the heads of those who oppose the reform; for, **WITHOUT REFORM THE INTEREST OF THE DEBT CANNOT BE REDUCED.** Let every *Boroughmonger* stick

those words up over his *fire-place*. Let him paste them upon the forehead of each of his perjured agents. For my part, I would rather see every inch of land in the kingdom transferred to the Jews, jobbers, dead-weight, and to the placemen and sinecure people, than see a *reduction* BEFORE a reform. Oh no! Begin with *reform*. Let us all have something to say in settling a matter in which all are concerned.

One word in addition, in the way of caution to those farmers who continue to read this miserable journal. It is now right as to the *cause* of the distress; but it is just as great a deluder as ever, as to a remedy. It thinks it to be its interest to flatter the hopes of the farmers and landlords of getting *high prices* again. It possibly may think (for it is capable of thinking any thing that is stupid) that there is such a thing as *establishing* a depreciated currency. This is Mr. WESTERN'S scheme. If attempted, it would only work the ruin into a different shape, and finally produce a convulsion in the country. But is there the smallest chance in the world of Mr. WESTERN succeeding in his project? There is not; and yet this beastly journal is holding out this hope to its readers, and,

therefore, as far as it is successful, it must add to their ruin and would, if possible, make an addition to the magnitude of its own sins.

RUSTIC HARANGUE, AT GUILDFORD,

On Saturday, Dec. 14, 1822.

[From "The STATESMAN," of
Dec. 17.]

ON the day just mentioned, Mr. COBBETT dined with the Farmers, at Guildford, in Surrey, at the White Lion Inn. About four-score Gentlemen sat down to dinner; a great many came after the dinner was over, and many more would have come, if the room had been large enough. The landlord thought it necessary to proceed in the way of selling *tickets* for the dinner; which is always a bad way in a case like this. Because he had sold but very few tickets, he thought that very few people would come; and, therefore, had his dinner in a small room in place of a large one. Men do not like to engage themselves positively before hand. They stop till the time comes, and then they go, if they like, or stay away. The far greater part of the company come upon such occasions from a considerable distance, and come

just before the dinner takes place. We mention these things, in order that they may be somewhat of a guide upon future occasions; for it is not impossible that a dinner of this sort may take place in one or two towns of every county before the 1st of June next. Mr. ROWLAND, of Guildford and of Chilworth, took the Chair upon this occasion, and having in a very handsome manner given Mr. Cobbett's health, after having given that of the King and Royal Family, Mr. COBBETT rose and made a rustic harangue, of which the following is the substance:—

Gentlemen,—I feel at this time the disadvantage of having been so flatteringly spoken of by the worthy Chairman; namely, that of not having it in my power to fulfil those expectations which his too flattering commendations will naturally have led you to entertain. Nevertheless, I will not pretend that I do not believe myself capable of uttering upon this occasion that which may be of use to some part of the company that I have the honour to address. Let me observe, however, that if there be any one who supposes, that I thus appear in so many places about the country for the purpose of gratifying my own vanity in the making of speeches,

such person is really very much mistaken. I have seen too much of speech-makers in my lifetime; I know too much of the manner in which their speeches are cobbled up, and ninety-nine times out of a hundred, made to appear a thousand times better than they come from their lips, I have too great a contempt for the whole crew of hacking, stammering, stupid and impudent creatures that call their nonsense *speeches*, to be possessed of the ridiculous folly of wishing to pass for a speech-maker. My object really has been to endeavour to do some little matter towards undeceiving the farmers. Deluded as they have been, sometimes from the folly and sometimes from the knavery of the deluders, it is not surprising that they should have been led to contribute towards their own ruin. Many of them have done that which I have very much disapproved of; nevertheless, it has been impossible for me to resist the desire of producing, as far as possible, a mitigation of the calamities that have now overtaken them. However, if I had no motive except the mere desire to *show myself*, I am not aware that I should be chargeable with vanity or intrusion. A man who has been so much calumniated,

who has been represented in such an odious light; whom the people in general may have very reasonably supposed to be something little short of a destroying monster: such a man seems to have a clear right to go, if he choose, into every part of the country, in order that the people may know, from the evidence of their own eyes, that he has not horns and claws; that mothers may be satisfied that nature has not armed him with the means of goring their children or tearing them to pieces literally. Here, I must observe, too, that we see, in this very calumny, one of the causes of that distress which at present prevails. The crafty and perfidious knaves, who have been so long calumniating me, knew perfectly well that I had neither horns nor claws, and that I was nothing of that which they represented me to be. They knew very well, if the country did not: and they detested me the more, because they knew me to be the contrary of what they described. They saw the impossibility of my becoming personally acquainted with a whole nation: it was the writings, the effect of which they dreaded; and, unable to answer the writings, they employed all their various channels, all their mighty influ-

ence and power to blacken the character of the man; to make his name to be so much abhorred, that his advice, that his warnings, that his principles, that every thing belonging to him should be rejected as resolutely as if it came from the devil himself. Had it not been for these arts, accompanied by such a mass of power, and by such persevering malignity and such atrocious injustice, England never could have been in the state that we now behold her; a state which the parties themselves to whom I have alluded, acknowledge to be without a parallel; and which certainly cannot go on for any considerable length of time without producing, not only greater calamities than any that we have yet seen, but greater, perhaps, than any of us have ever read of. The cause or causes of the distress have been very amply dwelt on; we sometimes hear about national faith; then we hear of this, and then of the other obligation; but, the single question before the country now is, whether the fundholders, the placemen, the pensioners, the grantees and others, who live upon the taxes, shall have the whole of the estates of the landlords, and the whole of the capital of the farmers and the traders,

or whether they shall not. This is the question, Gentlemen. There is, in fact, no other question before the country. The laws, as they now stand altogether, condemn every shilling's worth of property belonging to those who receive no part of the taxes, to be given up to those who receive the taxes.—If a landlord; if a farmer or a trader receive anything out of the taxes; if he or his family derive benefit from that source, he may gain with the one hand what he loses with the other; but, if he receive nothing out of the taxes, the more than forty millions; the nearly fifty millions a-year, which are now collected more than were collected forty years ago, while prices are the same now that they were then; the raising of these fifty millions a-year; which is really so much taken from those who do not receive taxes and given to those who do receive taxes; this operation must, upon the face of it, transfer the whole of the property from the present possessors. There needs no detail of argument to prove this to any man of sound understanding. It is, in fact, between forty and fifty millions of pounds sterling a-year, taken from the owners of land and of capital, and given to the owners of taxes. At

this conclusion the nation seems, at last, to be pretty generally arrived. In spite of all the efforts which I have before spoken of, all the infamous calumnies, all the odious and atrocious acts of tyranny, poured out upon and exercised towards me, in spite of all the delusions about the sudden transition from war to peace, about the effects of foreign importation, about over-production, to my opinion the nation seems at last to be come; namely, that it has to ascribe its calamities to enormous taxation, co-operating with measures of folly and injustice with regard to the circulating medium.—The nation is now looking for a *remedy* for the evil; and, it is upon this subject that I am desirous of making myself clearly understood. It is of the greatest importance to you all, Gentlemen, that you should adopt, if possible, a correct opinion as to what will be done when the Parliament meet.—There is one party, of whose voice Sir JOHN SINCLAIR appears to be the channel; and I will tell you what they propose. Sir JOHN SINCLAIR was a long time the President of the Board of Agriculture. He is now a Privy Counsellor and is Collector-General of the taxes in Scotland. He has now put forth

a circular letter, addressed to the Landlords and the Farmers. In this he represents the wretched state of agriculture; says that Welsh cows are selling at from *thirty* to *forty shillings* each; that three-year-old wethers are selling at from *three* to *five shillings* each; and that, in some parts of Scotland, cattle are so cheap, that it is almost worth while to kill them, as in South America, for the sake of their *hides*. After this representation of the state of agriculture, one would expect that the writer should recommend a taking off a part of those fifty millions a-year that I have just spoken of, which would of course enable people to keep their estates and their capital with low prices; but instead of this, what does he do? Why urges them to petition the Parliament to make new issues of paper-money, in order to raise the prices ten per cent. This is the scheme, or a scheme of the same sort of Mr. Western, Mr. Attwood, and some others.—But, Gentlemen, supposing for argument's sake, that by means like these, or by any other means, the prices could be raised ten per cent; suppose the cow to be sold for *forty-four shillings* in place of *forty shillings*, and the wether of three years old to be sold for *five*

and sixpence in place of *five shillings*, and suppose our wheat to be sold for *five and sixpence* a bushel instead of *five shillings*; suppose this to be accomplished, would it save your estates, would it save your capital? (Here was a general cry of No, no!) The interesting question is, however, *will the Parliament adopt any measure of this kind?* This is the interesting matter, and it is my desire that you should think rightly upon this subject, which has been the strongest inducement to my coming here this day. For, if the Parliament return to paper, all is changed in a moment. The danger is, that many men will believe that something of this sort will be done; that they will hold on in consequence of this belief, and that the aforementioned gentlemen, without intending it, will lead them to their ruin. My opinion, then, decidedly is, that the Government will propose no such measure, and that the Parliament will adopt no such measure. I have mentioned, upon former occasions, the consequences of returning to the paper; but, every one here present, may not be aware of those consequences, and therefore I will again state some of them. Recollect, Gentlemen, with what unanimity

and what solemnity, and what unbounded exultation the Parliament passed the dreadful Bill which has been the cause of the ruin of so many happy families. The Parliament boasted of this Bill as of an achievement that would give it immortal fame. It seemed to say, let the world look at our heroic, our magnanimous, our illustrious measure. Nevertheless, if it were merely giving up such a mass of fame, I think the Collective would bring itself to that; but, Gentlemen, to *return* to the paper, is a very different matter indeed from that of entering upon it at first. To enter upon it was a mere expedient in point of war and external danger; it was represented to be, and sincerely believed to be, merely a measure for the moment. It was always insisted that there was an *ability* to pay. But, a *return* to the paper would be an open declaration of bankruptcy: it would be an acknowledgment of inability to pay: it would be a thing to mark out England as a broken up, beggared nation. Most of you will recollect that, during the Session before the last, when some one had insisted on the necessity of a return to the paper, or, probably, had hinted at something of that sort, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "If we cannot pay in cash *now*; if we are unable to do it now, *we never can do it!*"—Nothing was truer than this; and I said, at the time, that I believed in the *never*, unless a rectifying of contracts took place, or a total ruin of the landlords and farmers. But besides this shameful, this disgraceful state, in which the Government and the Parliament would be placed by a return to

the paper, think of the abominable injustice that would be done to divers classes of the community! To bring back the paper again, so as to afford *relief*, the bushel of wheat must be raised to fifteen or twenty shillings. In this case, the yearly servants who hired at last Michaelmas would be robbed of three-fourths of their wages.—Tradesmen that have book debts, and who are already half ruined by the tax-gatherer, would be quite ruined by their customers, who would have to pay a butcher, for instance, fourpence in reality, instead of paying him a shilling. All contracts recently made would be violated. Persons who have recently invested money on mortgage, would receive as interest for certain sums enough to purchase *five bushels* of wheat instead of enough to purchase *fifteen bushels* of wheat. Suppose me to have lent a hundred sovereigns to-day. With them I could purchase ten loads of wheat. The Parliament return to paper in February, and the borrower pays me back in paper, with which I can purchase about three loads of wheat. Then, Gentlemen, think of what must take place with regard to the persons who have been led into that precious scheme called the Saving Banks. The inventors of this brilliant project boast that there are got together fourteen or fifteen millions of money from, as they say, upwards of a million of persons. This money has been got out of the hard earnings of people little above the state of paupers. They have been depositing in the Banks a sort of money about five or six shillings of which would buy a bushel of wheat. Adopt the roguish mea-

asures proposed by the honest gentleman above-mentioned, and these people get paid in a sort of money, fifteen or twenty shillings of which would be required to purchase the same bushel of wheat; that is to say, they would be robbed, and that, too, in the basest manner, of two-thirds, or thereabouts, of that which they had deposited. The Government would become so odious, it would be, at once so contemptible and so hateful, that it could not exist. There is no expressing oneself here with sufficient force. We have been inclined to censure strongly enough the injustice which was done by the returning to cash-payments; but, there was, at any rate, some apology to be offered for that. The Parliament suffered itself to be misled. There was Mr. RICARDO to persuade it that it was about to cause a fall of prices of only four and a half per cent. The Parliament was, at any rate, without *experience* to guide it. Those of us who were disposed to censure the Parliament, could not accuse it of evil intention: we might blame the ignorance, and we did; but we refrained from all imputation of wicked design; but now, the case would be very different.—Were it to commit this new act of injustice, it would do it with its eyes open; and it would be justly charged with a prodigality in its wickedness and tyranny such as never was witnessed before in the world. This being the case, I am bound to believe that this thing will not be attempted.—It is of the greatest importance, then, that those who have engagements, dependent upon what the Parliament will, or will not do; it is of

the greatest importance that they make up their mind upon this point. Often as I have said it, I must again say it, that it is little short of madness to believe that the land itself will bear any price higher than that which shall be proportioned to the price of its produce. This being the case, does it not become him, who, having mortgaged an estate that was worth ten thousand pounds; having mortgaged such an estate for four or five at a time when wheat sold for *four or five shillings* a bushel; does it not become him to reflect that such estate must in a short time be worth not more than three or four thousand pounds; and does it not become him to *sell* while he can probably get six thousand pounds, and thus have some little matter left out of the wreck of his fortune?—I know how hard it is for men to screw themselves up to this point; but hard as it is, it is the only means of avoiding utter beggary.—Persons thus situated are very apt to lean upon the hope that the paper will be brought back again.—There are persons, and one would think them persons of authority, too, to say, “Parliament *must* do it.” “They *must* repeal the Bill!” Why, Gentlemen, one *must* is as good as another, and in answer to such persons, all that I have to say is, or all that I need to say, is, “Parliament *must* not put out the paper!” What, then, is to be done? For, observe, whatever is to be done is to be done by the Parliament; and what are we to call upon the Parliament to do? It has done all the mischief. *Unintentionally*, mind; but it has done it all. As to the *Ministers*, both sides of the House

have concurred in the measures. It is, therefore, the House of Commons that has done the whole: it borrowed all the money; it degraded the currency. It raised the currency; it has done all: the landlords and farmers lie prostrate under the heavy weight of its enactments. Therefore, why should we not ask this House of Commons to be pleased to reform itself; to let the people choose men instead of those now chosen in rotten boroughs. A petition now lies upon the table of the House, presented by Mr. GREY (now Lord GREY) many years ago, in which it is stated, that the Peers, together with a few great Commoners and the Treasury, put a majority into the Commons' House. —That petition has never been answered. Its allegations have never been denied; and yet it has never been acted upon; why, therefore, should we not beseech the House to change itself; to suffer us, in short, to have a chance of better measures from that Reform for which we have so long prayed in vain. To be sure, we are not to treat the Parliament with contempt. The House has enacted, that we shall be banished for life, if we utter any thing having a tendency to bring it into contempt; therefore, God forbid, Gentlemen, that we should say or do any thing having that tendency. But, surely, our representatives, seeing that their measures have brought us into such misery, will permit us to petition, that they will be pleased to give us the chance of choosing other people. Far be it from me, to insinuate that the House has done any thing with the design of making us miserable. Far be it from me to believe

that they meant to take the estates from the landlords and give them to the fundholders. But, it is sufficient for me to know that their measures have had an unhappy effect; and is it not, Gentlemen, agreeable to the general practice and economy of human life, for us to wish a change in the agents, when the tenor of our affairs is unfortunate? If our servants, for instance, though with the best intentions in the world, waste our provisions, smash our bottles, and dishes, and glasses, do we not naturally seek a remedy in a change of the parties? A general may be the best soldier in the world: singularly able in laying his plans, in marching and countermarching; he ought, according to all the rules of war, to beat the enemy; but he is *unfortunate*, and therefore he is beaten. There requires nothing more; we change him without scruple. Why should not the same rule meet with application here? Why should we not try new men? Why should we not try to produce a change in the persons, at any rate? Election after election comes: all is dissolved: all turn out: but nearly all come back just the same. It is allowed on all hands, that our situation is *singularly unfortunate*; those who calumniate me with the greatest bitterness have no scruple to declare, that the misery is unparalleled. Then, how very ill is the luck of this nation, brought to this pass by good men! Can there be any better grounds than these for our praying for a change? Mr. CANNING, in his speech at Liverpool (in which, by-the-bye, he made some pretty trips) besought the landholders and farmers to have patience, and

not to imitate the child, who, falling upon the ground, grows angry with the ground, and beats it. How the landlords and farmers will take this, it is not for me to say; but the Right Hon. Gentleman appears to have chosen a very inapt simile. The child falls of itself; from its own weakness, or its own folly. But in the case before us, it is the Parliament that has fallen upon the landlords and farmers, and knocked them down. This is a very different case.—And shall not the sufferers; shall not they be permitted to turn round, to look well at that which has caused their fall, and to see whether they cannot produce such a change in it as to obtain the chance of recovering the blow and getting up again? But, besides this main measure of Reform of the Parliament, there are other things to petition for which is our duty; and first of all (after a reduction of the Debt) we ought to petition for a great reduction of the *tithe* (hear, hear, hear); for is it not manifest, that the land now pays tithe upon about forty millions of the taxes that are collected: and was this ever intended when the land was charged with tithes? What! is it to be suffered to be, that the land is to yield *no rent*, and that it is to yield *tithe*? In this kingdom at this moment the land, generally speaking, yields no rent. Whatever is paid in the shape of rent comes out of the farmer's capital; out of his stock. And, is the parson still to receive a tenth part of the produce? Is he to have an estate though the landlord have none? If he tells us of the antiquity of his title to the tithes, we tell him of a title equally

antient that the poor have to be maintained out of the tithes and out of nothing else. There is nobody denies the antiquity of the title of tithes; but if that antiquity be to be pleaded in their support, let us not forget the condition attached to the enjoyment of them; and, perhaps the best and most straight forward application would be for the relieving of the poor out of the tithes as was the case in the time of our forefathers.—Another thing to be prayed for is, a repeal of all the taxes on malt, hops, and beer. The tax on the hops is at this time enormous. It is just the same upon a pound of hops worth *sixpence* as upon a pound of hops worth *five shillings*; while the tax upon the barley, in its various stages, is so great, as to take out of the pockets of the landlords and farmers, eight or ten millions a-year to be put into those of East and West Indians.—Mr. ELLMAN the elder, honestly told a Committee of the House of Commons, that, forty-five years ago, every man in his parish brewed his own beer; and that now, not a single man in the parish did it. Why, Gentlemen, there was more in this one little piece of evidence, than in all the rest of the bulky volume. Here was the true criterion of the degree in which the country had been ruined and degraded; and yet not one single observation did this draw from any one member of our famous House! Upon one occasion, indeed, Lord CASTLEREAGH rather congratulated the House upon the *disuse of beer*, as a favourable symptom; as a symptom of greater morality amongst the people! To be sure, he, though one of our Ministers, was by chance, a mad-

man; and, mad indeed a man must be to congratulate the country; to congratulate the landlords who sat before him upon the circumstance that so many millions a-year were taken from them to be expended upon the East and West India cat-lap. You all know, Gentlemen, as well as I do, that a labourer, well lined with meat and beer is worth two or three of the poor creatures who are swelled out with warm water, under the name of tea. I know a gentleman in Herefordshire, who makes a distinction of a shilling or two a week in the wages of his married men, giving the greater sum to those who do not use the produce of the East or West Indies in their houses. A man inclined to take the pains may do this, and I would do it to a certainty. But, individual exertion can, in a case like this, effect but little. The thing must be done by indirect means: it must be done by the legislature: it must be done by repealing of the taxes on your produce, and by no other means. The Bill proposed by Mr. BROUGHAM would, if it were passed, do a great deal; and, at any rate, whether it be passed or not, that gentleman (with whom I do not always agree), deserves our thanks and our support. There are many other things for which we ought to petition; but, I should be your deluder if I were to pretend to hold out any hope of good to arise to us, until there be a Reform of the Parliament. I have given you my opinion in a very decided manner with regard to the interesting point, *cash or paper*; but you will be pleased to observe that, though the conse-

quences would be so unjust, I do not pretend to say positively that the measure of returning to paper will not be adopted. The difficulties are so great on both sides, that it is impossible to say what will be done. I know what I would do, but I cannot tell what will be done by the Government. They have a thing before them that they know not how to manage. Like the dog with the hedge-hog, they go round and round about it; look at it on this side, on that side, behind, before; touch it; endeavour to see into it, but know not, a God's name, how to begin to work upon it. (Great applause, and exclamations of they're beat!) Here is another reason for a change of men; for others may get into the bowels of it though they cannot. And if there were no reason but this for a reform of the Parliament, this alone would be sufficient: for, it appears to me, that unless this thing be seized upon at once, and wisely and manfully dealt with, our country is doomed to experience all the sufferings of a convulsive revolution. That word *revolution*, Gentlemen, leads me, though I am afraid I have worn out your patience, to make one concluding observation with regard to myself. Perhaps there are very few persons in this whole kingdom that have not heard, and no very great number that have not believed, that I was seeking for a revolution that would overturn the present Government and either leave all without government of any sort, or, make what they call a republican government in its stead. Gentlemen, I have written and published more than forty volumes of one single work. I challenge

these accusers to find any thing to justify their calumnies. Looking, and with great delight, on the freedom and happiness that our country enjoyed for so many ages under this form of government, I always was of opinion that no attempt ought to be made to change that form if it were possible to avoid it. I have had opportunities of seeing republican governments; of beholding the manners and character of the people, and of witnessing the administration of the laws, and of every other thing growing out of that sort of government. At all times and under all circumstances I have given the preference to our own: I have always said as I now say, that I believe that, for this country, at any rate, a government of King, Lords, and Commons, is the best that human wisdom can desire. But, the truth is, that these accusers have known the accusation to be false. They have never believed it themselves for one single moment. They have not desired to destroy me personally for my own sake, but for the sake of the principles which I inculcated. The result is, that they have not destroyed me; but, in pursuing precisely the opposite of that which I have constantly recommended, they have brought themselves to the verge of destruction.—Before I sit down, Gentlemen, I will take the liberty to propose the health of your neighbour, Lord King, a nobleman, you will understand, I am by no means personally acquainted with, and whom I never saw in my life until the county meeting last year; but a nobleman of whose public conduct I have been a steady observer;

and, I have observed that he has steadily persevered in doing that which was right, that which was fair towards the people, which is more than I can say that I fully believe of any other nobleman in England. There may be others, but I have never observed any such one.—I am sorry that I have to take my leave of you so soon; but having come out of Sussex this morning, and being compelled to return back a distance of thirty miles to-night, I must deprive myself of the longer enjoyment of your company at this time; but before I go, let me express my satisfaction as to two things: the first applies particularly to the County of Surrey; the second to the country in general. I have observed with great satisfaction, that the labourers are better paid, and, of course, are better off in this county, than I have seen them elsewhere. This is perhaps to be ascribed to particular circumstances favourable to you; but, at any rate, it gives me pleasure which I cannot refrain from expressing; for, if that numerous class be miserable, the cause which makes their misery will finally plunge the country in irretrievable slavery.—The other source of satisfaction is, that, while I have observed an excellent spirit beginning to animate all classes of the people, I have observed this spirit more decidedly predominant in the *young men*! That, Gentlemen, is the rock of our hope, or our hope has no foundation whatever. Those that are of my age will be mere *twattlers* in eight or ten years time. And we have seen and heard enough of what *twattlers* can do. We have had, in-

deed, too much of their doings. Our duty is, therefore, not to think of keeping any thing to ourselves, of becoming any thing ourselves, but while we have any thing of good stuff or of vigour left in us, to endeavour to infuse it into those whose age tell us, that it is they that must conduct the country through the storm, and see her, at last, safe, in the enjoyment of happiness and freedom.

NORFOLK FREEHOLD.

IN a parcel, by the Mail-coach, without my having the smallest intimation of the matter, I have, this day (17th Dec.) received a deed, which makes me, in fact as well as in law, the owner of a *Freehold Estate in Norfolk*. I need not say how proud I am of the honour thus done me, which I prize far above any money or money's worth that could have been bestowed on me. Being a Freeholder of Norfolk, I shall endeavour to *do my duty* as such; and, that I may not neglect this, I beg the gentleman, who has forwarded me this deed, to inform me, whether the County Meeting, mentioned in the *Norwich Mercury*, is about to take place; and when; for neither distance nor weather shall keep me from the spot.

WM. COBBETT.

TO
AN ESSEX FARMER.

SIR,

YOU request me to show, in a plain manner, the nature and properties of money, and how an alteration in its quantity, affects prices. In *Paper against Gold*; in the *New Year's Gift to the Farmers*, published in January 1821; in the *Farmer's Friend*, published last winter; in numerous other Essays; but, in each of these; and, particularly in the two latter (*either* of them), what you wish me to do is effectually done. God knows, I have repeated the statements relative to this subject, so often, that I am almost ashamed to repeat them again. I have *harangued* the Farmers till I am afraid to meet another company lest I should be compared to the *cuckoo*.—I am aware, that a *new set of readers* have come now to join the old set; I have acted on this knowledge of the fact; but, I must not trespass too far on the indulgence of those who have been my readers for so many years.—However, in my *next Register*, I shall give Mr. Canning his last lesson; and, as he appears to be as uninformed, as to this matter, not as any farmer, but as any farmer's maid-servant, I shall, if I can get over my reluctance to repeat, touch upon it again. I intend to go into the whole of the subject, as it NOW presents itself; and to compare my remedy with that of Mr. Western.

I am satisfied, that the fate of the country depends on the Farmers more than on any other class. They have been, through the means of delusion, made the instruments in producing the ruin; and, if the country be to be saved from convulsion it must be principally owing to them. I am, therefore, very desirous to do all that lies in my power to put them in the right path; and the request of the *Essex Farmer* is certainly an additional motive.

WM. COBBETT.

The NEXT REGISTER

Will contain a Critique on Lord JOHN RUSSELL's Tragedy, "DON CARLOS."

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 7th December.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat	38	6
Rye	19	8
Barley	28	8
Oats	18	9
Beans	25	10
Peas	28	5

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 7th December.

Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat 10,464 for 22,164	2	6	Average, 42	4	
Barley .. 8,231.... 13,703	2	7	.....	33	3
Oats .. 8,206.... 8,950	3	11	.....	21	9
Rye 38.... 39	18	0	.....	21	0
Beans .. 2,289.... 3,031	16	2	.....	26	5
Peas .. 978.... 1,452	10	0	.....	29	8

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 16th.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	0	to 4	4
Mutton.....	3	0	— 3	8
Veal	4	0	— 5	0
Pork	2	8	— 3	8
Lamb	0	0	— 0	0

Beasts ... 3,430 | Sheep ... 20,810
Calves 192 | Pigs 240

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	4	to 3	0
Mutton.....	1	10	— 2	6
Veal	2	8	— 4	4
Pork	2	4	— 3	4
Lamb	0	0	— 0	0

City, Dec. 19, 1822.

BACON.

THIS article has, for some time past, had to sustain the two-fold pressure of a dull sale here, and a disinclination on the part of the Cheesemongers to engage more to come. This has caused many to think that Bacon has reached its lowest point for the present; and, but for certain anticipations of an unpleasant nature affecting CREDIT, we have no doubt that an advance would take place. Still, however, there are great means in the hands of some, ready to be brought into action as soon as an opportunity shall offer: and we have seen in the case of the Butter trade how powerful those means are. 25s. to 26s. on board in Ireland, are the present prices: 28s. to 32s here. No old selling.

BUTTER.

Great efforts have been made, and for the present successful, to

sustain the market ; notwithstanding the heavy stocks on hand. Up to the present time there is an excess, as compared with last year, of nearly 80,000 firkins ; and *last year* there was much more than sufficient. Whether prices advance or decline, the *wind-up* must be a very disadvantageous one.—Carl-
low, 80s. to 82s.—Belfast, 76s.—
Dublin and Waterford, 70s. to 72s.—
Cork and Limerick, 68s. to 70s.—
Dutch, 86s. to 92s.

CHEESE.

The Factors who have been buying and obstinately *holding*, begin to be alarmed ; and not without reason.—Prices are so uncertain that we must wait a little before we can venture to state what we consider the current prices.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, DEC. 16. — Our Hop Trade remains in much the same state, but little doing. The official account of Duty proves to be
Old Duty, £203,724 14 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{0}{0}$
New Duty.. 150,579 3 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{0}{0}$
£ 354,303 17 11

Maidstone, Dec. 12. — Our Hop Trade is nearly over for the present: there is very little business now transacted on the Market Day, and the Trade is generally heavy, with lower prices. Duty, 200,000/.

Worcester, Dec. 7. — The Hop Trade continues brisk, with scarcely any variation from the prices of last week.—172 Pockets of New and only 2 of Old Hops were weighed this day.